

Message Text

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FOR NEA/IAI SMITH

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SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S SPEECH AT PRESENTATION OF BICENTENNIAL
AMERICAN STUDIES COLLECTION, TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF SPEECH WHICH AMBASSADOR TOON PROPOSES DELIVER
ON SUNDAY, MARCH 21, WHEN HE PRESENTS BICENTENNIAL AMERICAN STUDIES
COLLECTION TO TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY. WOULD APPRECIATE CLEARANCE ON THESE

REMARKS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE

2. WHEN I WAS ASKED TO SPEAK IN CONNECTION WITH THIS AMERICAN
REVOLUTIONARY BICENTENNIAL PROJECT, I WAS HAPPY TO ACCEPT YOUR
UNIVERSITY'S INVITATION. I WAS HAPPY TO DO SO BECAUSE I FELT A
CEREMONY TO MARK THE GIFT OF A COLLECTION OF BASIC AMERICAN RESEARCH
DOCUMENTS IN HISTORY SHOULD PROVIDE A SAFE AND COMFORTABLE FORUM
FOR ANODYNE REMARKS BY A DIPLOMAT. THEN I MADE THREE DISCOVERIES.

3. ONE: I WAS TO SPEAK ON ISRAELI-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIPS IN THE
MIDDLE EAST. THAT IS A TOPIC ON WHICH THREE-AND-A-HALF MILLION
ISRAELIS HAVE AT LEAST THREE-AN-A-HALF MILLION STRONG AND SEPARATE
CONVICTIONS--YOU WILL NOTE SECRETARY KISSINGER'S WORDS AT THE RECENT
HOLLYWOOD GALA WHEN TOASTING YOUR PRIME MINISTER--ISRAEL IS A COUNTRY
OF THREE MILLION PEOPLE AND SIX MILLION OPINIONS.

4. TWO: I FOUND THAT MY TALK WOULD COME BETWEEN REMARKS BY TWO
NOTABLE ACADEMICIANS: YOUR RECTOR, DR. SHLOMO SIMONSHORN; AND
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VISITING FULBRIGHT PROFESSOR DR. SIGMUND DIAMOND. BOTH OF THESE

GENTLEMEN ARE SPECIALISTS IN HISTORY, AMONG OTHER SUBJECTS.

5. AND, THIRD, I WAS TOLD THAT THE AUDIENCE WOULD BE FROM THE FACULTY AND STUDENT BODY AND THUS, IN VARYING DEGREES, SCHOLARS.

6. IF THERE WAS EVER A SPOT WHERE A SPEAKER POSITIONED HIMSELF TO TO TORN APART FOR DROPPING A DATE, FORGETTING A FOOTNOTE, OR RATTLING ON A REFERENCE, THIS IS IT.

7. WHEN I THINK OF MY ACCEPTING--HAPPILY--THIS SPEECH TOPIC, TIME AND PLACE, I CAN ONLY RECALL THE WORDS OF A FAMOUS AMERICAN SCHOLAR. IF REFERENCE DR. P.T. BARNUM--OF AMERICAN CIRCUS FAME--WHO SET FORTH THE LEARNED HYPOTHESIS THAT "THERE IS A SUCKER BORN EVERY MINUTE."

8. SO--HERE IS A SUCKER FOR YOU TO SHOOT AT.

.9. AND THERE ARE SO MANY PERSONS WILLING TO HELP WITH THE TRIGGER.

10. FOR EXAMPLE, ON THE DAY THAT WASHINGTON ANNOUNCED PLANS FOR THE SALE OF SIX C-130 TRANSPORT AIRCRAFT TO EGYPT I HAD A CALL FROM TO TOP ISRAELI JOURNALIST. THE JOURNALIST INDICATED THE HE WOULD BE WILLING TO GRANT ME INTERVIEW TIME THAT DAY, ESPECIALLY IF I WAS READY TO INDICATE BY BREAK WITH WASHINGTON OVER AMERICAN POLICIES. I NEVER CEASE TO WONDER AT THE FRIENDLY ISRAELI PRESS.

11. NATURALLY, I DID NOT GRANT THE INTERVIEW. I HAVE NO PRESENT INTENTION OF SPLITTING WITH WASHINGTON. ON THE CONTRARY, I AM HERE TONIGHT TO DEFEND OUR POLICIES, HOWEVER UNPOPULAR THEY MAY BE IN YOUR COUNTRY. AND I AM HERE TONIGHT TO TELL YOU THAT ALL THE REPEATED CHARGES OF AMERICAN POLICY CHANGES WHICH HAVE RECENTLY MARKED YOUR PRESS AND SOME OFFICIAL STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN BLOWN ENTIRELY OUT OF PROPORTION, AND THAT WITH OUR CONTINUAL PICKING AT ONE ANOTHER WE RISK FUTURE DAMAGE TO THE VERY SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES WHICH MEANS AS MUCH TO ONE AS TO THE OTHER.

12. LET ME AT THE OUTSET CALL ON AN UNUSUAL ALLY FOR SUPPORT. I SAY "UNUSUAL," SINCE I WANT TO QUOTE FROM A RECENT WASHINGTON POST EDITORIAL. AND I THINK YOUR WOULD AGREE THAT THE POST UNCLASSIFIED

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HAS NOT BEEN A SLAVISH SUPPORTER OF RECENT ADMINISTRATIONS.

13. THE WASHINGTON POST EDITORIAL WRITER SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES "IN PERSUADING EGYPT TO JOIN ISRAEL IN MAKING A SECOND SINAI DISENGAGEMENT...ACCEPTED AN 'IMPLIED COMMITMENT' TO PROVIDE ARMS TO CAIRO -- A COMMITMENT GIVEN ...IN GOOD FAITH AND WITH GOOD REASON. NOT ONLY HAD EGYPT'S PRESIDENT SADAT TAKEN A POLITICALLY

RISKY STEP FOR WHICH HE NEEDED TO HAVE SOMETHING TO SHOW TO HIS DOMESTIC CRITICS PARTICULARLY TO HIS POWER BASE IN THE EGYPTIAN MILITARY...EGYPT COULD NOT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED TO WEAKEN ITS LINK WITH ONE SUPPLIER WITHOUT SEEKING A NEW LINK WITH ANOTHER."

14. THE POST DECIDED THE PROPOSED PLANE SALE MAKES SENSE, THE POST SAID THAT IT WAS TO BE EXPECTED THAT ISRAELIS WOULD PROTEST-- BUT, AS THE POST INDICATED, THE ISRAELIS SHOULD HAVE KNOWN THIS STEP WAS COMING WHEN THEY MADE THE SINAI AGREEMENT. IN THE POST'S WORDS, "THEY KNEW THEN, AND KNOW NOW, THAT THESE SALES WILL HELP AN ARAB 'MODERATE' WHOSE POLITICAL SURVIVAL IS IMPORTANT TO THEM."

15. I THANK THE POST FOR THOSE SUPPORTIVE WORDS. THEY ARE DOUBLY WELCOME AT A TIME WHEN SOME ISRAELI FRIENDS CHARGE THAT THE UNITED STATES IS TAKING STEPS CALCULATED TO LEAD THE MIDDLE EAST INTO WAR.

16. WHY SUCH IMPASSIONED CHARGES? WHY, INDEED, AFTER ALL WE HAVE GONE THROUGH TOGETHER TNAD AFTER ALL WE HAVE ACHIEVED BY COOPERATION AND MUTUAL RESPECT AND WHICH WE COLD NEVER HAVE ACHIEVED IF OUR RELATIONSHIP HAD BEEN MARKED BY THE SUSPICION AND DISTRUST WHICH THESE UNWARRANTED CHARGES REFLECT.

17. WE ALL KNOW THAT THE SEARCH FOR PEACE IS A VERY DEMANDING AND RISKY BUSINESS. WE ALL KNOW EQUALLY THAT THE ALTERNATIVE--WAR-- IS EVEN MORE FRIGHTENING.

18. TOGETHER -- AS PARTNERS -- WE HAVE MADE SOME VERY ENCOURAGING STEPS SINCE THE LAST WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST. LET ME LIST THOSE STEPS AS I SEE THEM.

19. ONE: AFTER THE CEASFIRE AGREEMENT IN NOVEMBER 1973, THE GENEVA UNCLASSIFIED

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CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE EAST CONVENED. THE CONFERENCE CALLED FOR TALKS ON THE SEPARATION OF EGYPTIAN AND ISRAELI FORCES ALONG THE SUEZ. SECRETARY KISSINGER BEGAN THE FIRST OF HIS "SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY" EFFORTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND, ON JANUARY 17, JERUSALEM, CAIRO AND WASHINGTON SIMULTANEOUSLY ANNOUNCED AGREEMENT ON A FORCE SEPARATION. THE AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED JANUARY 18 ON THE CAIRO-SUEZ ROAD. THIS WAS SINAI ONE.

20. TWO: IN MARCH 1974, FIGHTING BROKE OUT ON THE GOLAN HEIGHTS BETWEEN SYRIA AND ISRAEL. ONCE MORE DR. KISSINGER UNDERTOOK PERSONAL MEDIATION AND, AFTER 32 DAYS OF INTENSIVE SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY, HELPED ACHIEVE AN AGREEMENT ON DISENGAGEMENT BETWEEN SYRIA AND ISRAEL. THIS AGREEMENT MARKED THE FIRST ARMISTICE BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES SINCE THE 1948 WAR.

21. THREE: NEGOTIATIONS TOWARD A SECOND AGREEMENT BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL RESUMED IN MARCH 1975. THEY ENDED IN DEADLOCK. AT THE REQUEST OF BOTH PARTIES, THE UNITED STATES RESUMED ITS STEP-BY-STEP EFFORT. DR. KISSINGER AGAIN TRAVELED TO THE MIDDLE EAST. THE RESULT WAS THE NEW AGREEMENT BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL WHICH WAS SIGNED IN GENEVA ON SEPTEMBER 4 -- SINAI TWO.

22. THESE "EVENTS" HAVE BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY OTHER EVIDENCES OF AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL AND FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

23. AN EXAMPLE: DURING THE YEARS WE ARE TALKING ABOUT, AMERICAN ECONOMIC AID TO ISRAEL WAS ACCELERATED. FROM A TOTAL OF 473 MILLION DOLLARS IN 1973, AMERICAN AID HAS RISEN TO THE PROJECTED 2.3 BILLIONS OF DOLLARS FOR THE CURRENT FISCAL YEAR -- A FIVE-FOLD INCREASE IN THREE YEARS. U.S. ASSISTANCE TO ISRAEL HAS TOTALLED MORE THAN SIX BILLION DOLLARS SINCE 1948. YOUR COUNTRY NOW RECEIVES ABOUT A THIRD OF OUR TOTAL FOREIGN ASSISTANCE.

24. ANOTHER EXAMPLE: THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN VERY CHARY OF USING ITS VETO POWER IN THE UNITED NATIONS. WE HAVE CAST A VETO ONLY ELEVEN TIMES SINCE THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS. FOUR OF THESE VETOES WERE CAST IN SUPPORT OF ISRAEL AGAINST RESOLUTIONS YOUR GOVERNMENT AND MY GOVERNMENT FOUND OFFENSIVE. THREE OF THOSE VETOES HAVE OCCURRED SINCE 1973.

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FOR NEA/IAI SMITH

25. WE HAVE ANNOUNCED PUBLICLY AND REPEATEDLY OUR MIDDLE EAST AIMS.

26. SECRETARY KISSINGER HAS SAID THAT WE MUST CREATE IN THE MIDDLE EAST A LASTING PEACE, NOT JUST ANOTHER CEASE-FIRE. THE PEOPLES OF THE MIDDLE EAST, BE THEY ARAB OR JEW, HAVE HAD ENOUGH OF BLOODSHED; THEY CRY OUT FOR PEACE. AND PEACE CAN BE THEIRS IF THEY AND WE HAVE THE WILL AND THE PATIENCE TO ACHIEVE IT.

27. THE ARABS SAY THERE CAN BE NO PEACE WITHOUT A RECOVERY OF TERRITORY AND THE REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES OF A DISPLACED PEOPLE. FOR ISRAEL, PEACE REQUIRES BOTH SECURITY AND RECOGNITION BY ITS NEIGHBORS OF ITS LEGITIMACY AS A NATION.

28. WE HAVE SET FORTH THE PATHS WE SEE TOWARD PEACE IN THIS AREA:

29. ONE: WE MUST AVOID A RENEWAL OF CONFLICT;

30. TWO: NEGOTIATIONS MUST TAKE PLACE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338;

31. THREE: WE MUST NOT ACCEPT STAGNATION IN OUR PEACE EFFORTS. AND OBVIOUSLY, THOSE PEACE EFFORTS CAN BE ONLY BE TAKEN IN CONJUNCTION WITH ALL PARTIES CONCERNED.

32. UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UNITED STATES A PROCESS HAS BEEN SET IN MOTION BY WHICH YOU AND YOUR ARAB NEIGHBORS HAVE BEGUN UNCLASSIFIED

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TO TAKE SOME MAJOR STEPS TOWARDS PEACE.

33. THE 1974 DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENTS WITH EGYPT AND SYRIA RESOLVED THE MOST PRESSING IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS CREATED BY THE WAR-- EXCHANGES OF POW'S, THE RATIONALIZATION OF THE LINES DIVIDING THE ARMIES, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BUFFER ZONES MANNED BY UNITED NATIONS PERSONNEL. THESE FIRST AGREEMENTS ALSO DEMONSTRATED THAT IT WAS POSSIBLE FOR THE MODERATE FORCES ON BOTH SIDES TO ENTER INTO A PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH EACH OTHER THROUGH OUR MEDIATION.

34. THIS PEACE-MAKING PROCESS WAS CONTINUED IN THE NEARLY YEAR-LONG NEGOTIATIONS WHICH CULMINATED IN THE ATTAINMENT OF THE ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN INTERIM AGREEMENT IN SEPTEMBER 1975. THE ROAD TO THIS AGREEMENT, AS YOU ALL MOST CERTAINLY REMEMBER, WAS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT.

35. THE SUSPENSION OF NEGOTIATIONS IN MARCH 1975 WAS AN ADMITTEDLY DIFFICULT MOMENT IN U.S.- ISRAELI RELATIONS. UT TOGETHER WE TRANSCENDED THOSE DIFFICULTIES. SINAI II, AS WE CALL IT, HAS ALREADY BEGUN TO BEAR FRUITS AND ITS INITIAL RESULTS HAVE CONFIRMED THE WISDOM OF BOTH THE ISRAELI AND THE EGYPTIAN LEADERSHIP IN AGREEING TO COMPROMISE AND REJECTING THE ADVICE OF THE EXTREMISTS ON BOTH SIDES. THE SMOOTH WAY IN

WHICH THE TRANSFERS AND WITHDRAWALS PROVIDED IN THAT AGREEMENT HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT, INCLUDING THE ACTIVITY OF THE ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN JOINT MILITARY COMMISSION IN THE SINAI, IS ITSELF A SIGN OF THE COMMITMENT OF BOTH SIDES TO MAKING THE INTERIM AGREEMENT WORK.

36. WE HAVE MADE OUR OWN CONTRIBUTION IN A NUMBER OF WAYS INCLUDING, MOST VISIBLY, THE 170 TECHNICIANS WHO ARE MANNING THE EARLY WARNING STATIONS IN THE SINAI. ON FEBRUARY 22, THE DATE WHICH WAS AGREED UPON FOR THE COMPLETION OF THE TERRITORIAL TRANSFERS AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW LINES, EVERYTHING WAS IN PLACE.

37. EVEN MORE IMPORTANTLY, THE INTERIM AGREEMENT HAS PROVED ITSELF ON THE POLITICAL LEVEL. EGYPT CLEARLY DOES NOT WANT ANOTHER WAR AND IS SEEKING INSTEAD TO ADDRESS ITS ENERGIES TO INTERNAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. YOUR OWN LEADERS IN UNCLASSIFIED

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RECENT WEEKS HAVE HIGHLIGHTED THEIR VIEW THAT EGYPT INDEED WANTS TO NOURISH THE PEACE PROCESS AND HAVE RECOGNIZED THE RISKS WHICH PRESIDENT SADAT HAS TAKEN.

38. YOU ALSO HAVE TAKEN CERTAIN RISKS IN AGREEING TO GIVE UP THE OIL FIELDS AND TO MOVE TO A NEW LINE IN THE PASSES. TO BALANCE THOSE RISKS, HOWEVER, IT IS IMPORTANT FOR US TO KEEP IN SIGHT THE OPPORTUNITIES WHICH THE GAINS MADE SO FAR PROVIDE US FOR MOVING AHEAD.

39. IN OTHER RESPECTS THE LAST FEW MONTHS HAVE BEEN DIFFICULT. SYRIA AND THE SOVIET UNION HAVE SHOWN LITTLE INTEREST IN PROMOTING THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS. THE RECENT MIDDLE EAST DEBATE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL THREATENED TO ALTER THE EXISTING FOUNDATIONS FOR NEGOTIATIONS EMBODIED IN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 AND TO SHIFT THE VENUE OF NEGOTIATIONS FROM GENEVA TO NEW YORK. THE UNITED STATES APPLIED ITS VETO AND BLOCKED THOSE EFFORTS. OUR VETO HAS PRESERVED THE NEGOTIATING FRAMEWORK AND HAS UNDERSCORED OUR CONTINUING COMMITMENT TO THE PEACE PROCESS.

40. THE QUESTIONS FACING ALL OF US NOW ARE FIRST, HOW DO WE PRESERVE THE MOMENTUM OF NEGOTIATIONS IN 1976, AND SECOND, HOW CAN WE LIVE WITH THE FEARS GENERATED BY THE UNCERTAINTIES OF PEACE. NEITHER TASK IS EASY. BOTH CALL FOR THE BEST IN BOTH OF US IF WE ARE TO COME UP WITH COURAGEOUS AND RESOURCEFUL ANSWERS.

41. I HAVE SPOKEN FRANKLY WITH YOU THIS EVENING. I FELT THAT IT IS A TIME WHEN OUR RELATIONSHIPS DEMAND FRANK APPRAISAL. WE MUST ACCEPT THAT WE WILL AT TIMES HAVE DIFFERENT ATTITUDES TOWARD OUR PROBLEMS. OUR PERCEPTION OF EACH OTHER'S NATIONAL INTERESTS WILL NOT ALWAYS COINCIDE. I THINK IT IS IMPORTANT

FOR BOTH OF US--BECAUSE WE ARE MATURE PEOPLES, AND SENSIBLE PEOPLES--TO UNDERSTAND THAT THESE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION MAY TAKE PLACE. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE SHOULD SIT DOWN AND DISCUSS THESE DIFFERENCES IN ORDER TO ARRIVE AT A SATISFACTORY UNDERSTANDING. TONIGHT, I FELT THAT IT WAS HIGH TIME THAT YOU HEARD AMERICAN VIEWPOINTS AND DID NOT LISTEN SOLELY TO ARGUMENTS FROM YOUR OWN SIDE, MANY OF WHICH ARE UNJUSTIFIABLY ALARMIST.

42. I DO NOT EXPECT YOU TO AGREE WITH ALL THE CONSIDERATIONS WHICH
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WE IN THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION THINK ARE IMPORTANT BUT I DO THINK YOU SHOULD EXAMINE OUR OCCASIONAL DIFFERENCES CAREFULLY IN THE LIGHT OF YOUR OWN LONG-TERM INTERESTS.

43. I THINK THAT WHEN YOU DO THEN YOU WILL REALIZE THAT IT IS TO ISRAEL'S BEST INTERESTS FOR THE UNITED STATES TO CARRY OUT A MODERATE SUPPLY OF EQUIPMENT TO EGYPT.

44. A D I MUST SAY CANDIDLY THAT WE DO NOT LIKE TO BE TOLD THAT A CAREFULLY CALCUATED POLICY OF THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION WILL LEAD TO WAR. STATEMENTS LIKE THIS CAN ONLY CONFUSE THE SITUATIONAND STRAIN THE TIES BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

45. WE BOTH HAVE OUR FEARS. AND FEARS MUST BE MET.

46. WHEN I WAS IN THE UNITED STATES RECENTLY WITH YOUR PRIME MINISTER, SECRETARY KISSNGER TOLD OF A FRIEND WHO FEARS FLYING.

47. DR. KISSINGER SAID THAT WHEN HIS FRIEND SEES A STEWARDESS COMING OUT OF THE PILOT'S COMPARTMENT WITH A SERIOUS FACE HE IS CONVINCED THAT THE SITUATION IS SO GRIM THAT THE POOR STEWARDESS CAN'T EVEN GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THINGS ARE GOING WELL.

48. WHEN THE FRIEND SEES A STEWARDESS COMING OUT SMILING, THEN HE'S IN A REAL PANIC BECAUSE THEN HE IS ABSOLUTELY CONVINCED THAT THINGS ARE DESPERATE AND THAT SHE HAS BEEN INSTRUCTED TO TRY TO CHEER UP THE PASSENGERS.

49. LET'S NOT BE LIKE DR. KISSINGER'S FRIEND WHO SUSPECTS THE WORST, WHO IS CONVINCED THAT HE IS BEING TRUCKED, WHO HAS NO HOPE. LETA US, RATHER, MOVE FORWARD WITH CONFIDENCE AND TRUST IN EACH OTHER--FOR THE TASK AHEAD OF US REQUIRES THE BEST IN BOTH OF US. LET US--IN A WORD--SET ASIDE THE BRICKBATS.
TOON

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